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415 263 are a few other forms and one rectangular salt mortar, with a handle, was collected (Fig. 6, b).

The native chilies are small, rarely over an inch in length, and bright red. They are extremely hot. The natives pound them up, seeds and all, in mortars similar to those used for salt. They are usually taken fresh from the bushes, which seem to be in bearing most of the year, but are occasionally dried.

Salt and chilies are sprinkled over the food after it has been served, each person seasoning his portion according to his taste.

UTENSILS

415 184 In describing Tanala utensils it is necessary to distinguish between the Zafimaniry gens, with its immediate neighbors, and the other members of the tribe. The Zafimaniry, who are recent immigrants from the plateau, resemble the Betsileo in their extensive use of wooden utensils and drinking horns. These have been diffused to the gentes in contact with them. The other Tanala gentes rarely use wooden utensils and have no drinking horns. In this respect they resemble the tribes of the east coast.

It seems curious that in a heavily forested region the only group to use wooden utensils should be one which has come from an area in which wood is much less abundant, but there are other anomalies as well. None of the Tanala employ bark utensils, although there is plenty of good material available. Gourds, which grow well in the region, are very little used. The Menabe have practically no gourd utensils. The Ikongo use gourds for milk bottles, but this is probably in imitation of the Bara.

415 314 264 All the Tanala, except the Zafimaniry, serve their boiled rice on small square mats or in shallow rectangular baskets (Fig. 6, f). The basket or mat is first covered with a layer of green leaves. Liquids are served in short joints of bamboo or in leaf dishes. These dishes are made from pandanus or other long, broad leaves which are folded to make an oblong receptacle. Usually the ends of the leaf are simply turned up and tied (Fig. 6, h). There are a few well-made dishes of pandanus in which the ends are cut short, folded and sewn together. A narrow splint of bamboo is used to reinforce the end (Fig. 6, g). Spoons are made from strips of leaf, folded and tied (Fig. 6, j). All except the sewn dishes are made from green leaves and renewed at every meal.

415 Large wooden ladles are used by all the Tanala for dishing food from the pot (Fig. 7, d). Some of those used at feasts and sacrifices

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take the place of heavy rope. The latter are considered better than rope for very heavy work, such as the erection of memorial stones.

DWELLINGS

In describing Tanala dwellings it is necessary to distinguish sharply between the Zafimaniry and the rest of the tribe. The former still live, for the most part, in strongly built wooden houses identical with those used by the Betsileo in ancient times. They are beginning to adopt mud houses, like those of the modern plateau natives. The other Tanala gentes build their dwellings of bamboo, leaves of the Traveler's Palm, etc., and show no tendency to adopt the mud houses. In this they conform to the culture pattern of the east coast tribes.

All Tanala houses are grouped in villages. This was originally a defensive measure, but even now, when the danger of attack has ceased, they show no tendency to live in isolated families.

Tanala dwellings, aside from those of the Zafimaniry, show only minor differences. In general, those of the northern gentes are rather larger and better built than those of the southern ones. All the houses are rectangular and oblong, with gabled roofs. The average dwelling is about 20 feet long by 10 to 12 feet wide, but the dimensions vary greatly. The interior height is usually 10 to 12 feet at the ridgepole and 5 to 6 feet at the walls. The houses are always oriented with their long axes north and south.

The entire house is raised on posts, the floor being 18 inches to 2 feet above ground at the closest point. As houses are often built on steep slopes, the clearance may be as much as 6 feet at the lower end. The space between the posts is often filled in with stones, to prevent enemies from crawling under and spearing the inhabitants through the floor. A rectangular enclosure of planks or bamboo, near the south end, supports a block of earth which rises to the level of the floor and serves as a fireplace.

The framework of the house usually consists of three main timbers, one at either end and one in the center, a ridgepole, corner posts, stringers at the top and bottom of the walls, rafters and door frames. Another type of framework may be seen in the accompanying drawing (Fig. 18, e). Except for the stringers and door frames, the timbers are simply peeled, not dressed. The main vertical timbers are usually planted in the ground.

The floor is made from planks or from a mat of split and flattened bamboos woven in checkerwork (see Matting and Basketry). Beside

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lated filth. Vermin thrive under such conditions and it is almost impossible for a white man to sleep in one of these dwellings. 356

ARTIFICIAL LIGHT

The Tanala usually keep to the house after sunset, except on moonlight nights. The only lights used in the open air are torches, usually flaming brands of resinous wood. Better torches, for night fishing, are made from bundles of long, dry leaves tied together at intervals of 3 to 4 inches. 354

Inside the house, most families are content with the light of the fire. The Zafimaniry make a limited use of small iron lamps (Fig. 19, e) like those of the Betsileo. The lamp consists of a small bowl attached to the side of a long spike. The whole is usually forged from a single piece of metal. The lower end of the spike is pointed and is thrust into either the earth floor or a heavy block of wood. The upper end is bent down over the bowl and then recurved, forming a small hook. Sometimes this is forked and spread, resembling the horns of cattle. The bowl is filled with grease and has a floating wick, twisted from a bit of bark cloth or commercial cotton fabric. A lump of fat is impaled on the hook above the bowl and slowly melts down, feeding the lamp. Iron lamps with multiple bowls seem to be unknown.

All the Tanala use tapers made by impaling the kernels of castor oil beans side by side on a thin splint of bamboo or other stiff material. The first bean is lit at the fire and the taper laid horizontally across a bowl or other raised object with the burning end protruding beyond its side. When the first bean is nearly consumed, the taper is picked up and inverted to light the next. Such tapers require almost constant attention. They are reminiscent of the candle nut tapers used in Polynesia.

COSTUME

In describing Tanala clothing it is necessary to distinguish between the Ikongo, the Menabe in general, and the Zafimaniry. The garments of the first two resemble those of the east coast tribes while those of the Zafimaniry are of the plateau pattern. The two types differ so widely that it seems best to describe the Zafimaniry separately. 291 [184]

In pre-European times, the Ikongo dressed exclusively in soft mats. They made no use of true cloth and bark cloth was employed only for women's belts. The Menabe, on the other hand, rarely

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the village that a ward within the village occupied with relation to the *kianza* and was the property of the lineage occupying that ward. Actually, the outlines of these lineage holdings were irregular. Their limits were set by natural boundaries and there was an attempt to equalize their value. 621 423 596

At the time of making the *tavy*, the lineage land was temporarily divided among the various families, but it reverted to the lineage as soon as the crop was harvested. Lineage land, or, more correctly, the right to use it for agricultural purposes, was sometimes sold to members of other lineages within the village. This was a last resort and was only considered justifiable when some member of the lineage had been enslaved and his ransom could not be raised otherwise. It seems that such sales were often considered rather as pledges for loans, for every lineage tried to keep its land intact and would go to great lengths to buy back any which had been sold. When a lineage seceded from a village, it forfeited its land rights and its former territory could be occupied by the other lineages without recompense to it. 621 596 425

Among the Menabe two new developments in land ownership have occurred in recent times. Due to the increasing value of forest products, the lineages now preempt for their members the right to gather honey, wax and raffia within their territories. There is also an increasing tendency toward individual ownership of land. This is correlated with the introduction of irrigated rice culture. The preparation of rice beds requires much labor and they must be kept in repair constantly. A family which builds a terrace system is felt to have established its individual right to the land and retains it as long as the terraces remain in use. If the land is allowed to lie fallow for any length of time, however, it reverts to the lineage. This development is so recent that, as yet, there seems to be no rule regarding the sale of rice beds to members of other lineages. 423 178 596 [243]

Among the Ikongo the rules regarding land ownership seem to be much the same as among the Menabe except that individual ownership of rice fields is much older and better established. Such fields are inherited within the family and the lineage has little or no right over them. [184]

All property other than land is individually owned. This extends even to the least important tools and utensils. Everything in the establishment, from the house down, belongs to some particular member of the family. These rights of ownership are recognized even between parent and child in spite of the great theoretical power 421 593